

# PEACE NEWS

Brotherhood : Non-Violence : Freedom

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## WILL YUGOSLAVIA JOIN THE THIRD CAMP?

Peace News correspondent

THE visit of President Tito of Yugoslavia to India and Burma appears to be even more significant than was at first imagined.

In a report last week from New Delhi it was announced that Tito and Premier Nehru had met for at least four major talks on world problems.

They were understood to have agreed "to try to build up a common policy within the United Nations and outside it, backed by as many European, African, Asian and South American countries as possible."

The News Chronicle said that "the two men favour co-ordination of policy among countries which are outside the Big Power blocs involved in the cold war, to strengthen what Mr. Nehru calls the 'area of peace' which might act as a buffer zone between the opposing blocs."

Formosa and Germany also figured in the international conversations and at a banquet both President Prasad (a former vice-president of the War Resisters' International) and President Tito stressed the need for help from advanced countries to the underdeveloped areas of the world.

### "No" to Nato

The position of Yugoslavia in relation to the cold war has been an interesting one ever since her break with the Cominform in 1948. She has steadfastly refused to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and also any Eastern bloc alliance. Her domestic policy has recently been undergoing a considerable overhaul and for some time it has been observed that she was moving in the direction of decentralisation of her economic and political structure. Though she is still far from being a liberal state, nonetheless she appears to be going that way, and her decentralist programme will give her much in common with Asian socialist and Gandhian trends.

The fact that Tito has made this visit (he is the first European Head of State to visit India since independence), is evidence of the growing strength of the Third Camp idea. With its penetration into Europe, it will become a policy of the greatest moment.

Early next year, the planning meeting for the Asian-African Conference will be held. Mr. Sastriamidjojo, Prime Minister of Indonesia (host country for the planning session), said that the task was to extend the "peace area" from Cairo to Manila, and "indeed to the entire world."

The reference to Europe, and S. America, in the report on the Nehru-Tito meetings, confirms the breadth of the plan. Possible bets for invitees are: India; Indonesia; Burma; Ceylon; Pakistan; Afghanistan; Egypt; Syria; Lebanon; Gold Coast; Nigeria; Libya; Yugoslavia; Sweden; Switzerland; Eire; Haiti; Costa Rica; Uruguay. Observers from colonial territories will also attend.

## After Dr. Soper spoke on call-up "I FOUND COURAGE TO BE CO"

—Student to Tribunal

By FRANK ALLAUN

IT was the visit of Dr. Soper to speak on conscription at Nottingham University in March, 1954, which finally confirmed John Dennis Verney of Darley Avenue, Chorlton, Manchester, as a pacifist.

"More and more I had leaned towards pacifism during my training period as a teacher but it was then that I found sufficient courage to commit myself" he told the Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal held in Manchester on December 20.

"I will not kill nor will I sanction the killing under any circumstances of a person for whom Christ died."

"However, I am willing to serve my country constructively in any worth while job which observes the principle that my contribution would be of equal value in times both of war and peace."

Verney, who is 23, was given exemption on condition he continued to work as an orderly at Withington Hospital, Manchester, for two years and 60 days.

In another case coming before the Manchester Tribunal (with Justice Rhodes as chairman) a Major in the Durham Light Infantry sent written evidence in support of a conscientious objection.

The Major, Mr. J. Mason, a teacher at St. Bede's School, wrote:

"Colin Barker believes that service in the armed forces is not compatible with Christian views. While I do not share his views I believe they are sincerely held."

Colin, who is to become a monk in a Church of England order and to take the vows of poverty and celibacy, was registered unconditionally as a conscientious objector.

Home Office "incredibly

stupid" over H-bomb

—Prof. Lonsdale, FRS

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REPORT FROM GERMANY

## Peace hath her heroes..

Four years gaol for German war resister

From a Correspondent

AS previously reported in Peace News many Germans have been taking action to prevent the mining of bridges by the Occupying Forces in Germany.

In some cases the local German administration refused to allow the drilling of holes for the insertion of explosives; in others the people in nearby towns and villages have filled with bricks and concrete holes already made.

It is now known that 22-year-old Walter Zauner, of Regensburg, Bavaria, has been sentenced to four years hard labour by an American Military Court for such activities.

Everywhere in Germany, both in the East and West, young people are making a stand against re-militarisation.

At Solingen—Germany's Sheffield—1,500 young workers of differing political denominations have lodged a united protest against German rearmament and have pledged themselves to march upon Bonn if conscription is introduced.

When the Bonn Parliament debated the Paris and London Treaties, Chancellor Adenauer was asked how much rearmament would cost Germany.

His answer that he could not give any information, as he had had to promise the Western Powers not to give any details, was followed by an uproar.

The Opposition claimed that it was the right of every parliament in the world to be clearly informed about the expenditure of the government.

The view is widely held in Germany that the stiff attitude of the German Socialist Party in opposing rearmament is mainly due to the surprising stand the younger generation is taking against conscription.

## MORE SUPPORT FOR "REBEL" MPs

KIDDERMINSTER Divisional Labour Party has expressed its support for the six "rebel" MPs.

On Dec. 2 it issued a statement as follows:

"This party notes that had it not been for the action of the six Labour MP's in dividing the House of Commons on the issue of German Rearmament, it could not have been shown that the Labour Party was officially abstaining from voting on the matter; it applauds the magnificent gesture of the six."

"Further, this Party expresses grave concern at the action of the Parliamentary Labour Party in withdrawing the Whip from the six MP's, having regard to the fact that the issue of a three line Whip on a matter of conscience is contrary to the long-held traditions of the Party."

The prospective Labour candidate, I. A. J. Williams also announced himself to be opposed to German rearmament.

## More of this please, in 1955!



Look at this picture. The lady is an American, the man a Russian—and they are smiling at each other! More important, they happen to be official representatives of their governments.

They are Mrs. Oswald B. Lord and Mr. P. D. Morozov, enjoying an informal chat before the tenth session of the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations, in New York.

—UNATIONS.

## THEY SAIL FOR KENYA TODAY Four Quakers going to Kikuyu detention camps

A QUAKER team of four sails for Kenya today (Friday) to take up rehabilitation work among some of the 70,000 Kikuyu, Embu and Meru now in detention camps in rural reserves.

All four are members of the Society of Friends.

Miss Margery F. Reid of Harpenden, who between 1935 and 1952 was closely associated with the Children's Play Centre Committee which was taken over by the London County Council in 1941, is being released by the LCC from her present job as a local govern-

ment officer in the Islington Divisional Education Office.

Mr. D. John Starke of Headcorn, near Ashford, Kent, a probation officer for the past fifteen years, is also Secretary of the Penal Reform Committee of the Society of Friends. He is

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## WHY PEACE WAS BARRED FROM SCHOOLBOYS EXHIBITION

THEY feel that the average age of the boys that come to the Schoolboys Exhibition are much too young, and that it would be unfair to worry them with the perils of the future, until they reach the age of approximately 15 years."

This is the reason given by the organising committee of the National Schoolboys and Senior Students Exhibition for refusing a stand to the Peace Pledge Union at the exhibition which opens today at the Horticultural Halls, Westminster. The exhibition mainly caters for teen-age boys.

Sybil Morrison, Peace Pledge Union Organiser, has told the Exhibition Committee:

### FOR THE WAR OFFICE ONLY!

"I cannot help but view the reason given with considerable cynicism. If the Committee have so much tenderness for boys under 15 years that they feel should not be worried about the 'perils of the future,' it is, to say the least of it, somewhat strange to allow the War Office to exhort them to the 'perils' of parachuting at the age of 17½."

"I would point out that this is precisely what was done at the last Exhibition, where, linked to an apparatus giving boys and girls the opportunity to jump from a height dressed up in parachutist's harness, was propaganda informing them that they could do this from the age of 17½ by the simple means of joining up with the Parachute Regiment. The exact words were: 'You can join the Parachute Regiment at 17½ years.'

"Other slogans were 'Opportunities for boys in the Regular Army'; 'The Way to a Fine Career.' 'Adventure Awaits you in the Royal Navy.'

\* On back page



Work-camp picture from PPU booklet.

# PEACE NEWS

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## WAR RESISTERS

**W**E have published this month lists of conscientious objectors in a number of countries who during the Christmas season were undergoing sentences of imprisonment because of their refusal to undertake military service. These lists included men in prison in America, Australia, Belgium, Britain, Denmark, France, Holland, Italy, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland.

In some of these countries—America and Britain, for instance—there are other COs who were not included in our lists because they had been officially recognised as having conscientious objection and given some form of exemption from military service. In other countries—France and Belgium, for instance—all men resisting conscription were in prison because in those countries there was no legal provision for conscientious objection.

The lists we published were as full as they could be made on the basis of records compiled by the War Resisters' International. It will be noted, however, that there are many countries that do not figure in our lists. These include Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Spain, Russia and Yugoslavia.

The absence of information does not mean that provisions for exemption are so effective that the question of COs being punished in these countries does not arise. What it means is that there are no pacifist organisations able to supply the names; that it is impossible for them to be set up and give expression to their views, let alone maintain contact with like-minded people in other lands.

Let us be quite explicit on this point. We do not like the French attitude to war-resisters; and we have on more than one occasion drawn attention to the grotesque anomalies that arise from it—as, for instance, when criminals could be given the advantage of an amnesty but not conscientious objectors, because these latter would have only been due for rearrest under the "cat-and-mouse" procedure that obtains.

We must not be thought therefore to be expressing approval of French procedures when we remark that the list of men in French prisons we were able to publish in our December 17 issue is not—as might be assumed—evidence of a more repressive regime than exists in the nations for which no list appears—say, for instance, Spain or Bulgaria—but on the contrary, grim as may be the information there given, it is evidence of a higher degree of civilised toleration. French war-resisters have to go to prison if it is true—and in some cases, as our list has shown, they have to serve long and punishing sentences—but those who think like them and are out of prison, are able to speak and express themselves, they are able to expound and discuss their views in the press, and they are able to be organised, as has been clearly demonstrated at the conferences of the War Resisters' International that have been held in France.

They are able to do none of these things in the countries of the Eastern bloc, or in Yugoslavia or Spain.

For pacifists these facts have an obvious bearing on the correspondence that is developing in our columns out of the review of John Swomley's pamphlet (*The Peace Offensive and the Cold War*—see PN, Dec. 10, 1954).

British pacifists are linked up internationally with the War Resisters' International. In Britain, as in most other WRI national sections there is no attempt by the pacifist organisations to impose limits on members as to the bodies with which they shall work; and in a number of countries, of which Britain is one, there are pacifists who work with the World Peace Council and its national and local affiliates. This fact frequently brings to Peace News letters from both non-pacifists and pacifists urging that there should be more who do this.

Although it is part of the job of Peace News to convert non-pacifists into pacifists we do not conceive it to be our business to be concerned about the policy they pursue as opponents of pacifism. With pacifists, however, we have some concern, and we should like to offer to pacifists who have decided to work in this way what seems to us to be a major consideration they should take into account.

Internationally the first loyalty of the pacifist is to his fellow war-resisters in other lands and particularly to those encountering persecution. His most vital international organisation for the expression of this primary loyalty and concern is the War Resisters' International. We do not think there can be any difference of view on this point. What can be done organisationally for peace by grouping pacifists and non-pacifists is a more debatable point upon which, as we have indicated, the pacifist movement does not seek to dogmatise.

Where, however, such forms of co-operation are entered upon surely an important concern for the pacifist must be the position of those who in other lands are bearing a similar witness to himself. He would not willingly permit himself, that is to say, to be used by their adversaries against those in other countries who are seeking to make the same testimony as he is in regard to conscientious conviction.

Now we believe that this is what is happening when those who are pacifists go into co-operation on the peace issue with those in other lands who are opposed to pacifism without raising the question of what is happening to their fellow war-resisters in those lands.

Those pacifists who have in recent years been co-operating with the World Peace Council, the British Peace Committee and the local counterparts of these bodies have, of course, been in an advantageous position to raise the question of the attitude to war-resisters and to pacifist testimony in Russia, Bulgaria, Poland and the other countries we have mentioned, with the exception of Yugoslavia and Spain.

Up to the present we have received no information as to what they have tried to do on this issue, and with what result. We should welcome some news from them on this point. If among them there should be some who have not so far raised this matter we commend it to them for their consideration.

## Cyprus, Puerto Rico, and non-violence

**T**HE front page of The New York Times on the day this letter is written says that the British Government is planning to discuss with Cypriot leaders a new constitution for Cyprus and hopes this will put an end to the disturbances there.

The reason given for this optimism by the spokesman for the Churchill administration at the UN is that such a constitution might be "accepted as the first step toward internal self-government on the lines of Puerto Rico's association with the United States." It is indeed true that apparently a good many Puerto Ricans and—almost unanimously—the liberals here on the mainland are highly satisfied with the Muñoz Marín regime in Puerto Rico and regard the anomalous arrangement between Puerto Rico and the United States as the best that is open to Puerto Ricans at present.

It may be useful to keep in mind, as the discussion about Cyprus gets under way, the following facts about the Puerto Rican situation.

It was by a fairly narrow margin and after pretty hard pressure by the US that the UN

Assembly acquiesced in the US assertion that Puerto Rico was now "self-governing" and the US no longer obliged to report on its activities and policies there. Not only Nationalist Party members, whose methods I deplore heartily, but who cannot be dismissed as simply psychopaths, but also the Independentista Party which confines itself to legal and peaceful methods, demanded independence for the Island. They do not regard the present status—under which Puerto Rico's foreign affairs are completely in the control of the US and young Puerto Ricans are conscripted into the US Army under a law which they have no voice whatever—in making—as satisfactory.

One other crucial resemblance between Cyprus and Puerto Rico may be mentioned: that the latter is a base for US armed forces, and its inhabitants without their consent will be treated accordingly if war comes—as Cyprus is a British base and the Cypriots targets in a future British war.

It is a problem, not entirely unrelated to this one, to which I wish to devote the rest of this week's space. It has to do with the nature of a pacifist movement able to deal

with such issues in the post-World War II world.

Some of my readers will recall my comment a few weeks ago on William Faulkner's novel *A Fable* which tells the story of a mutiny by a battalion in the French Army in World War I, influenced by a soldier and twelve companions who had been propagating the idea that common soldiers should, and could, end the war by simply refusing to fight any longer and that this was the only way to end war itself, in contrast to the way in which generals and politicians and priests habitually "end" each war in such a way as to make it the beginning of the next. A few weeks ago the Faulkner novel was reviewed in *The Reporter* by two exceptionally sensitive critics, Irving Howe and Gouverneur Paulding, the latter regularly associated with the liberal Catholic weekly *Commonweal*.

Both remark that Faulkner places his story in the first World War though it is clear—for example, in his description of the nightmare of mechanised warfare and mechanised peace—that he is writing for his contemporaries in the atomic age after the second

## Mr. Nutting

**T**HERE was really a criminal one-sidedness about the replies of Mr. Nutting (Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs) to Miss Marguerite Higgins (a Republican journalist of the extreme Right) in his televised interview in the USA.

He handled the whole question of the development of the war between Formosa and China through an attack on Formosa by the mainland as if then—and then only—the thing would become a United Nations matter and would require action in which Britain would inevitably be implicated. An attack on Formosa would be an attack on a member of the United Nations and would thus call for collective action in which Britain would necessarily participate.

That Chiang Kai-shek has a seat on the United Nations and in the Security Council is, however, beside the point. When Britain joined the US in action on the side of South Korea it was not because South Korea was a member of UN, since she was not and is not a member. If war was undertaken against North Korea because a people, not a member of UN, had been attacked it would be equally possible to take action against Chiang's troops because of their activities against Peking; but everybody knows that no such action will be taken.

Chiang, however, has his seat, not as the head of the Government of Formosa, but as the head of the Government of China, and if the Chinese people arise to displace him from Formosa that will be just as much a civil war as was the uprising in Guatemala; more so in fact because the Guatemala uprising had to take the form of an invasion from foreign territory.

The US Government have done pretty well up to the present in utilising the machinery of UN as a subordinate instrument of the State Department, but there are limits.

## U Nu and Formosa

**T**HIE Burmese Prime Minister, U Nu, proposes to visit the United States at the end of January as a sequel to his visit to Peking.

He has proposals to submit to the US Government for the settlement of the problem of Formosa.

We have no idea of the lines of these proposals but the visit of U Nu promises a great deal more of hope than the recent visit of Mr. Nutting, who managed to say everything the China Lobby desired to hear while concealing carefully the very widespread and emphatic distaste that exists in this country for the American attitude to the question of China and Chiang Kai-shek.

U Nu has retained a capacity to speak like a human being, to express his concern about aspects of Chinese policy while at the same time making it clear that Burma need not be numbered among the enemies of China.

This ability to speak in human terms instead of the usual political clichés of national self-righteousness is one that the statesmen of both East and West are losing.

It is a capacity that the spokesmen of Asian peoples may help us to renew.

## Menace to shipping

**F**ORMOSA appears to be a nuisance to others besides those who live in the area. In a Government reply to a House of Commons Question recently it was stated that from September 1949 to November 1954 there had been 251 cases of molestation of British shipping off the China coast. The reply stated:

"In 141 instances the Chinese Nationalist forces or their irregulars, were responsible; in 27 instances Chinese Communist forces were responsible; in 6 instances it is believed that pirates were responsible; and in 77 instances it was not possible to identify who was responsible."

## Christmas toys in Germany

**L**AST year at Christmas time we were able to examine a number of toy catalogues that had been sent to us from

## BEHIND THE NEWS

America, and we found them healthily free from war and weapon toys.

According to Bruce Rothwell, writing in the *News Chronicle*, there was a rather different phenomenon to be observed in West Germany this year. The shops were offering the latest toy tanks, jet planes, atomic artillery, soldiers and guided missiles. The German parents, however, were not buying them.

Youth associations and parents' organisations have campaigned against war toys. The management of Frankfurt's main toy shop said "When we put toy tanks, cannon and planes in our windows we get protest letters". The consequence is that the sale of these things in Germany have been mainly to members of the occupation forces, while there have been exports to the tune of £10,000,000.

## Rash of uniforms

**A**TREND in a different direction is to be found in a tendency to revert to the practice in W. Berlin of wearing Party uniforms.

Outside Berlin in Western Germany this practice is legally forbidden, but recently in Berlin meetings of Social Democrats have been guarded by units of a uniformed "Freedom League" who wear tan jackets, dark trousers, grey wool shirts, black ties and dark blue ski-ing caps with emblems in the colours of the Bonn Republic.

The reason given for these formations is the need to protect Social Democratic meetings against Nazis and other enemies of free speech. There is a similar manifestation on a smaller scale in the small right-wing German Party, doubtless justified on similar grounds.

We are sorry to learn of these developments. We have had too much opportunity in the past to observe how this kind of political inflammation can exacerbate feeling and help to destroy the climate of liberal tolerance necessary in a democracy.

## The tragedy of Imperialism

**T**HHEY hate us but they need us." Under this title "Commentator" writes about Tunisia in the *Inquirer*, the weekly newspaper of the Unitarian Church. He sums up:

"Probably the main reason for the good relations between Britain and the colonies of West Africa is a recognition that Britain's ultimate aim coincides with that of the average nationalist, whereas every thoughtful North African is compelled to realise that the French policy of assimilation is an impossible aim, since it would come to an end the moment the electorate in France itself saw that the North African electors were influencing national politics and policies".

Now that is just and perceptive, and "Commentator's" note contains a number of statements that do no violence to truth. It is clearly pointed in the right direction, and yet, in a journal of the integrity of the *Inquirer*, it troubles us somewhat.

The contrast between the good relations between Britain and the West African colonies and the unhappy relationship between France and North Africa is not the most profitable one for the British reader. In a succeeding note "Commentator" writes of the deplorable ignorance of the British people on colonial problems and provides some grotesque examples to show how deep this ignorance can be. In the circumstances when he speaks of "the good relations between Britain and the colonies of West Africa" there is surely the possibility that he may be conveying to many the view that the record and attitude of Britain makes a good showing

compared with that of the French. The contrast can equally be made however between the West African colonies and the East African colonies held by Britain, and we think that "Commentator" should not have failed to point this out.

The main difference between the territories of British West Africa and those of French North Africa is that the climate of the former is not such that Europeans are tempted to settle permanently and make these places their homes; in the latter they seek to do this. Similarly the native inhabitants of British East Africa are not so fortunate as the natives of the West as their lands also inspire covetousness in Europeans.

Behind the impracticable political theory of the French approach is the fact that the French settlers in North Africa are not willing to develop a national independence that will give the indigenous population power over their own lands. The same applies to the British colonies in East Africa, and outstandingly to Kenya.

"France has worked miracles in the way of improving the health and developing the resources of Tunisia" says "Commentator". That may be. The Kenya Government makes the same claim. As evidence that the governing of awakening peoples is a burden the writer says that in Tunisia there is a chronic yearly deficit of £2 million to £3 million and that this can only come from France. We feel some scepticism regarding this in the absence of information on the incomes of the French settlers and the rate of taxation applied to them.

What we find as subtly misleading in "Commentator's" approach is best summed up in the title, "They hate us but they need us". Surely if this were put the other way round, "They need us but they hate us", it would at once be a sounder statement of the situation and reveal the tragic depth of our failure.

## New competition in weapons

**R**USSIA has offered India help by means of materials and technicians to build a giant steel mill. Indonesia too has been offered long-term credits at the low rate of two per cent so that it may buy machinery manufactured in Russia; it has also been offered facilities for the training of Indonesian technicians. Afghanistan is to receive a Russian loan of £1,070,000 in order to build silos and food storage facilities.

Good news to have received in the Christmas season? Evidence of a spirit of brotherhood? Well, not according to at least one American commentator. The Milwaukee Journal says "They're trying to turn the very weapons we designed and developed against us in a struggle for Asia."

It cannot be called a pretty spirit, but it would be a great thing if we could see the competition in weapon development take this form for a change.

## Inhuman penal treatment

**L**OCAL Regulations provide for the use of leg irons or ankle fetters for the restraint of prisoners in several British Colonial Territories. They are: Jamaica; N. Rhodesia; Kenya; Tanganyika; Nigeria; Somaliland Protectorate; Gold Coast; Leeward Islands; Bahamas.

When asked about this practice in the House of Commons, a spokesman for the Colonial Office said that it was the practice in certain territories which were approaching self-government, and implied that it was thus difficult for the British Government to do anything about it. It was in answer to a later Question that the names of the territories involved was given—as above.

Of these only the Gold Coast, Nigeria and N. Rhodesia are really near to self-government. Is it rather that the Colonial Office does not wish to take the matter up with the white settler groups which now exercise such local government as exists in these places?

And even in the case of the three nearly-independent territories the Government could at least make clear its depreciation of the practice. That is, of course, if it does deprecate it.

## Letter from U.S.A. by A. J. Muste

World War. Paulding goes on to make the acute and, I think to a great degree, valid observation that Faulkner had to do this because the hope that war could be abolished was one which ex-soldiers and others cherished after World War I but do not and in a sense cannot take seriously now. The disillusionment of various kinds have been so great. Faulkner had to locate his story in 1918 since only thus could his privates revolt, undergo condemnation and "die with the heart breaking innocence that characterised those war years—before the great disillusionments."

Paulding has previously remarked that "no expectation of universal peace" followed World War II. "Neither V-E nor V-J Days were final in the way that Armistice Day in 1918 was". "Now, in the uncertain present, the question of pacifism—for that is what the whole business of mutiny versus authority amounts to—is not asked."

I think such people as Paulding tend to underestimate the number of people who ask the pacifist question. Certainly many ask it

Continued on page five

## Towards democracy COSTA RICA

**THE** Administration of President Jose ("Pepe") Figueres has been in office in Costa Rica for almost a year. During that period it has laid the groundwork for a programme which will transform that little Central American republic, under the direction of a socialist-oriented government.

Figueres is one of the best examples of a democratic socially-minded Latin American politician in a region badgered with dictatorships, demagogues and potential totalitarians.

The success or failure of his regime will have a great impact on democratic developments throughout the hemisphere.

—ROBERT J. ALEXANDER, author of "The Peron Era," in The Socialist Call, November, 1954.

## URUGUAY

"**Y**OUR Excellency," the usual form of address for Latin American Presidents, is banned by law in democratic Uruguay; "Mr. President" is thought to be title enough.

Luis Batlle (pronounced Batzhay) Berres, the next President of Uruguay's Swiss-style National Council and therefore the country's top man is definitely the mister type.

During an earlier presidential term, explaining that "it's ridiculous for me to have guards," he modestly removed policemen from duty at his little farm just outside Montevideo.

True to his background, Luis Batlle Berres carries on the special blend of liberal politics distilled by [his uncle, Jose Batlle y Ordóñez]. "Batllismo" is a pragmatic mixture of the welfare state and anti-clericalism . . . The state runs banking, meat packing, and fishing, sells insurance, operates the telephones, and provides free medical care and education (for qualified students) through university . . . Uruguay has Latin America's highest standard of living and no income tax . . . As for Communism, Batlle Berres opposes it with a technique that Uruguayans call "killing it with liberty."

The Red vote dropped from 32,000 in 1946 to 17,000 in this month's election.

—TIME MAGAZINE, December 20, 1954.

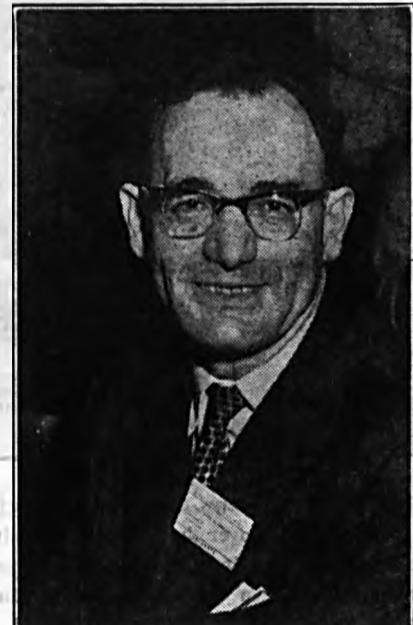
## MEXICO

A NEW Unesco coloured filmstrip "We are all in the Same Boat," describes the work of the Fundamental Education Training Centre for Latin America at Patzcuaro, Mexico.

It relates the many aspects of the fundamental education training courses at Patzcuaro to the work done by Unesco and other Specialised Agencies on an international basis in the economic and social fields.

—UNESCO.

## The Argentine's Man of Peace



QUIET, shy, Bishop Sante Uberto Barbieri of the Argentine Methodist Church, who has been elected one of the six presidents of the World Council of Churches, is the leader of the pacifist movement in his country.

A member of the International Council of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, he has a reputation in the world of letters as well as the Church, having published more than twenty volumes of poetry, drama, religious stories and Christian commentaries in both Portuguese and Spanish.

Justly called "World Churchman No. 1," he was born in Dueville, Province of Vicenza, North Italy, in 1902. His parents who were silkweavers, moved to Switzerland when he was five and later to Germany. After receiving his education in the USA he became a naturalised citizen of Brazil.

Later he went to the Argentine and in 1947 he became dean of Union Theological Seminary, Buenos Aires. Two years later he was elected bishop by the Latin American Central Conference in Buenos Aires, which, unlike the North American Methodist Church, elects bishops for four year periods instead of for life. He was re-elected bishop in 1952.

He visited England in 1951 as a delegate to the World Methodist Conference at Oxford.

## THE DRIFT TO "1984": INDIA'S VICE-PRESIDENT SPEAKS IN URUGUAY

**SIR SARVEPALLI RADHAKRISHNAN**, Vice-President of India, warned recently at Montevideo, Uruguay, that "if the drift to totalitarianism in democracies goes on, there will be nothing left for democracies to defend."

"I am afraid that, in our attempts to defend democracy, we are throwing away the content of democracy," stated Sir Sarvepalli as he opened the Eighth Session of the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. He spoke to the Conference as its retiring president, having presided over the last General Conference held in Paris in 1952.

### Thought control

He singled out delegates of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. "Their presence gives a more representative character to this organisation," he said, "I venture to hope that they will help dissolve rigid postures and frozen attitudes of mutual distrust and promote the understanding among nations which is one of the main objectives of Unesco."

Sir Sarvepalli's warning to democracies came after he noted that "governments are becoming more centralised, more coercive on their citizens and more effective on their control of thought and opinion even in democratic states."

Turning to world politics, the Indian philosopher and statesman stated that he felt the international situation to be "somewhat improved" and cited developments in Korea, Indo-China, Trieste and the Suez Canal zone and "a noticeable advance" in regard to the future of the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Tunisia and Greenland.

### Interference

He praised the "peaceful and democratic settlement" of the status of French possessions in India, congratulating the French people and "their great prime minister who has been acting with rare courage and foresight on international questions."

Then Sir Sarvepalli expressed the hope that Korea would be unified on the basis of free elections and that Laos, Cambodia and Viet Nam would become independent, but he warned that "any outside interference with these states may spoil the chances of a democratic settlement."

"We are all glad that outstanding questions are being tackled," he continued, "but it is unfortunate that the United Nations is being bypassed. In spite of its defects, the United Nations is the symbol of human hope for unity which we have been seeking for centuries. The spark of spirit in us has compelled its creation."

### Weakness

Sir Sarvepalli told delegates that he believed the political unification of world society to be inevitable. "The present system of a world broken into 60 or 70 national states is an anachronism," he declared, "The United Nations asks us to learn to live in a world community and not die of the disease of chauvinistic nationalism."

"The weakness of the United Nations is a human weakness," he went on, "we still believe in nationalism though we aspire to be members of an international community. Powerful nations in the world are attempting to use the United Nations and its agencies as instruments of their national policies. If we are to develop an essential international outlook, member nations—at any rate, in their relations with international organisations—should subordinate national considerations to international obligations, which they do not always do."

Referring to the question of co-existence, Sir Sarvepalli declared that "this does not mean surrender of one's convictions or appeasement or defeatism . . . it only means we are ready to

### Combat defeatist attitudes—Prof. Carter

From DENNIS P. BARRITT

"**A** DEFEATIST attitude that war is inevitable helps to bring about those very conditions which make war possible." Combating this attitude, said Professor Charles F. Carter, of the Department of Applied Economics Queen's University, Belfast, was a task in which all could play a part.

He was speaking at the Friends Meeting House, Belfast, and called upon his audience to get across to all the need for straight thinking freed from the influence of propaganda. "There is great good," he said "and great evil in all nations, whose citizens are very like ourselves—human beings."

Many acts which had a bearing on world peace were not realised by the citizens whose governments were concerned with them. The recent violent movements in commodity prices had very unsettling effects on those countries whose economies were very dependent on these commodities. Last August the United Nations Economic and Social Council debated the setting up of a Trades Stabilisation Commission to endeavour to iron out the violent price movements. This was voted for by the under-developed areas, but opposed by the UK, USA, France, and the Commonwealth countries. Was not this something which should be taken up by Christians concerned for world peace, Professor Carter asked.

Support should also be given to those who were able to help ease tension at higher levels. In the long luxurious lounge at the United Nations Building the Russian delegates with their satellites congregated at one end, the American delegates at the other. No-one thought of mixing, but Quaker teams which attend these assemblies were often able to invite delegates to meet unofficially in their own Quaker House, where they could discuss, unreservedly, free from the reporter's notebook or the microphone.

## THANK YOU

Writing on December 23 we need a further £84 13s. to complete the £2,000 we asked for from our readers in 1954.

This was the biggest sum we have ever had to ask for. It is a thing we rejoice about that our readers have responded so well; but although events have justified our increased assessment of our needs we should have liked it much better if our estimate in this respect had been falsified by events.

Peace News moves on from year to year in a permanent state of crisis; so much so that we suspect that readers might feel some disquietude if we were ever to depart so far from the normal as to announce that there was no crisis. Here they may at least be reassured as to the present position. The situation is that we shall not only have to ask in 1955 for a sum at least equal to that which has been subscribed with such a good heart in 1954, but that we need very badly indeed an increase in circulation.

Practically all the pacifist groups that have discussed the matter at my request have written to say that the Peace News team are providing substantially the kind of paper that is wanted; and, of course, the generosity of the response to our appeal is further evidence of this. What we have to do is between us to find some way of turning into new circulation this sense that the paper is more or less what is wanted.

That is a matter, however, upon which we must take counsel together in the New Year. In the meantime I express the cordial thanks of the Peace News staff for all the generous help in money and work we have received and wish all concerned a Happy New Year.

THE EDITOR.

We gratefully acknowledge anonymous contributions of 15s. from Sheffield and 12s. 6d. from London, W.C.2.

Contributions since December 17 £72 3s. 8d. Total since January 1, 1954 £1,915 7s. 0d.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Vera Brittain, Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

## BOLIVIA:

### Where average income is £20 a year

These children are studying in the open air while waiting for a school to be built.

They live in one of the less fortunate Latin American countries—Bolivia, where the average income is about £20 per year, that is less than in India.

There are only 2,000 schools and three universities serving a population of four millions.

UNESCO is helping to improve things by providing materials for the drive against illiteracy.

—UNATIONS.



## "Die if you must, but never kill an Indian"

### THE LAST FRONTIERS OF "CIVILISATION"

**I**N South America, in Asia, in Oceania and in Africa, tribesmen, aborigines, "savages," "primitives" . . . or whatever euphemism conscience-stricken "civilized" nations apply to them—are watching the last defences of their way of life break down.

"Whether we like it or not, there is not a single tribe on the face of the earth today which can hope to escape the effects of our civilization," writes Dr. Alfred Metraux, Swiss-born American anthropologist, in the current (No. 8/9) issue of the monthly Unesco Courier. Dr. Metraux retraces the bloody history of contacts between civilization and "primitives" in the past—and warns that it cannot be allowed to repeat itself.

### The old method

He says that "The problem consists in finding an intelligent way of integrating them into modern life without destroying what is valuable in their way of life and, above all, without destroying their self-respect."

The classical method of "integration" is vividly described in an article on the Ona Indians of Tierra del Fuego—who numbered 4,000 in 1880 and whose population today does not amount to two dozen. They were simply hunted down, with a £1 bonus for every pair of ears brought in by professional killers.

There are other ways, fortunately.

Brazilian author Darcy Ribeiro relates the story of General Rondon, founder of Brazil's Indian Protection Bureau, who gained fame when he marched his troops through the most hostile Indian country in Brazil with orders to "Die if you must, but never kill an Indian."

Margaret Mead, leading American anthropologist, writes of the adaptation of the Melanesians of the South West Pacific to new

ways, while India's policy towards her 30,000,000 tribesmen is described by Dr. Verrier Elwin, who has spent two decades among Indian aborigines. This policy was laid down by Prime Minister Nehru who flatly told his administrators: "There is no point in trying to make of them a second-rate copy of ourselves."

In other articles on the Special Report, "The Last Frontiers of Civilization," the Courier describes Denmark's policy towards the Eskimos of Greenland.

## CHILE LOCKED IN BANK STRUGGLE

By PEDRO ZOTTELE

SANTIAGO, CHILE

**C**HILEAN financial circles are engaged in a dispute between rival banking ideas and forces, the outcome of which may have important repercussions.

One of the chief aims in the organisation of the "Bank of the State of Chile" last year—after agitation for such a bank since 1891—was to control the huge deposits of the fiscal and semi-fiscal institutions.

The government has started an effort to secure for the Bank some 7,500 million pesos in reserve, or government funds, and place them in the new Bank.

The National Association of Banks, however, speaking for the private banking institutions, took immediate steps to make the government postpone its action. Its spokesmen declared that if the private banks lost these deposits, they would undergo "the tightest and most difficult period of their history," while "many banks would be forced to close their doors, throwing a considerable number of workers out of their jobs and seriously increasing unemployment."—Worldover Press.

# H-BOMB YEAR

**A**LTHOUGH the H-bomb had been with us some time, the world first learned its full significance in 1954 when a US test injured 23 Japanese fishermen. One of them has since died; the others suffer ailments such as the falling-out of hair, shown below.

The news sparked off the biggest excitement since the end of World War Two. There were grave speeches and sensational newspaper articles. Films were made, sermons preached and resolutions passed. Russia announced that she had exploded an H-bomb, India called for a standstill on tests.

By the end of the year, the H-bomb was still with us, but there was a noticeable silence about future experiments.

Demonstrations against the bomb, and other peace activities during the year are recalled in the pictures on this page.

**PROTESTS.** Ordinary people all over the world came out in protest against the horror of the H-bomb. In the picture below citizens of Osaka, Japan collected 1,600,000 signatures to a petition calling for the prohibition of atomic weapons. A wave of revulsion against war and its preparation swept Japan with the news of the Pacific test.



In Britain and America too, people demonstrated against further experiments. The lower picture shows a parade of pacifists in London on the march to a rally in Trafalgar Square where representatives of all main pacifist bodies in Britain appealed to the British people to renounce weapons of mass destruction and the way of war.



**TRAVELLERS.** There was much coming and going during the year. Nehru was in many places, but none more important than Colombo, where the Third Camp nations of Asia met. Franklin, pacifist ex-member of the Labour Party Executive, went to China, Canon Collins to S. Africa, Dr. D. Soper to Russia. Emrys Hughes, pacifist MP, visited Germany and later on cast his vote, together with five other heroic MPs, against German rearmament.

Professor Kathleen Lonsdale toured the world, A. J. Muste visited Europe, George Houser made a trip down Africa. Pastor Niemoller and others took pacifism to the World Council of Churches Second Assembly.



**VISITORS.** A buzz of newspaper talk was started with the visit in August of six young Russians to Britain as the guests of young Quakers. They toured the country, stayed in private homes, talked, listened and (left) photographed new friends.

**FACADE.** The authorities in Britain worked hard to put Civil Defence across. Most people took no notice, believing it useless in the H-bomb age. Coventry Council startled the Government by abolishing its CD Committee. CD pundits retaliated by staging an H-bomb exercise at Coventry (right). There was plenty of acting and tomato ketchup, but few were convinced.



**LIBERATION.** The struggle for colonial freedom went on unabated. To the tragedy of Kenya and Malaya was added the repression of Cyprus. But in other parts of the colonial world, people's organisations like the Gold Coast co-operative (right) went on steadily building up the pattern of a new future. The year ended with fresh exposures of illegal activities by the Kenya police—and with the departure of a Quaker team to work with the Kikuyu.



**SERVICE.** Work-camps continued to flourish. They were held all over the world. The United Nations Assoc. of Britain was the latest organisation to sponsor a work-camp—in Holland. Photo (above) shows a World Council of Churches work-camp in Greece.



**PUBLICITY.** Peace News went airborne early in 1954. Russell Johnson (right), of American Friends Service Committee, in Cambridge, Mass., USA, and other friends of PN, set up an American Sales Office and in 12 months boosted sales from 300 to 1,400 per week. Also in the picture is PN's American columnist, A. J. Muste, Secretary-Emeritus of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Besides the US, air-mail Peace News now goes to all parts of the British Commonwealth, Asia and Africa.

**CHALLENGE.** German war-resisters faced a tough time during the year. Plans for a new army had to be resisted. Ex-naval captain Heinrich Kraschützki (right) was among those who spoke against the corrupting effects of militarism.



**DELIBERATION.** The eighth triennial conference of the War Resisters' International met at Paris in the summer. The theme was the "Third Camp"—a growing world alliance of people who seek liberation from the enslaving demands of war preparation and the pressures of the two power blocs. Efforts were made, and still are, to get UN to incorporate the right of conscientious objection in the Declaration of Human Rights.

PHOTOGRAPH BY GUY STANNETT

## "NEWS OF GOOD NEIGHBOURS"

THE Oracle has spoken! In "The World and Ourselves" (*Home*), William Pickles—not to be outdone by his namesake Wilfred—had a go, and told the world: "Some members of United Nations are quite unfitted to decide questions of self-government. It was wrong to discuss the question of Cyprus in United Nations in any form" (fitness is the exclusive prerogative of those who deny self-government to others. Everybody knows we remain in Cyprus for fear the minority will be oppressed. Magnanimity compels us to remain and oppress the lot). Said William, expansively: "we must judge between justice and expediency" (imagine a judge saying this to the jury at the Old Bailey!)—"governments must respect each others rights" (connive at each others faults?)—"justice is one of the conditions of peace" (seems to me you pulled the right one out of the bag that time by mistake William. You must be more careful). Then the final flourish: "The United Nations should not adopt resolutions they cannot enforce". Very well, friend Pickles, let us recruit the army divisions Christ envisaged to enforce the Sermon On The Mount.)

On Christmas day, longing to escape the mocking ache of reality, we spread wings of hope and took flight with millions for "News of Good Neighbours" (*all BBC Stations*). With tense emotion we awaited the hour: "Let all the nations be gathered together . . . (true, many were missing, but patience, patience, we have waited so long!).

The Nativity Play from Luxembourg—children's voices of many tongues blending in song—wise men—shepherds (are they not soldiers in the distance?—Roman soldiers?—in khaki?—is that the manger on the gun-carriage?)—A Canadian schoolgirl of fifteen dedicated to succouring the sick (may she be blessed, but how many millions as young as she may never reach maturity!)—Nigeria, the fight against malaria, a light in the dark continent of Africa, short of helpers, short of funds (thank God our national health was never better!)—India, again the fight for health under appalling conditions (did we not govern there for more than a century? Did we overlook some trifling details?)—Australia (an excellent place they say for testing 'A' bombs)—UNKRA builds a new life in Korea (cant struts in the mask of piety! My Lords Bishops, Statesmen of all lands, must we create the necessity for goodly deeds by a preamble of devilry? How many wide-eyed children there to-day were cradled in sorrow's arms! Of a truth, Christ Himself was more fortunate in Bethlehem!)—Japan . . . Hiroshima!!! The throat swells—the hot tears flow, misting the gaunt form of conscience now straight before us, solemn and accusing as the mushroom rises . . .

Through the dust of the haunting cloud of shame the voice of Father Hugo Lassalle is heard, measured and sincere: "What is the lesson we have to learn?—We know what to expect from war!—There must be no more war!—Freedom and love is the basis of peace for all nations."

The weight lifts from our brows; there is still one more chance . . . the night is dark, but the dawn shall break! Pacifists, to you the lasting glory.

### PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Pacifist Universalist Service

3.30 p.m. Sunday Jan. 2

King's Weigh House Church, Binney St., W.1.  
(Near Bond St. Tube)

Discourse by Rev. Claud Colman, M.A., B.Litt

### I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.

Send YOUR pledge to

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Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select notices for publication. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

Saturday, January 1

LONDON, N.S. 8 p.m.; Public Chapel of St. Thomas of Canterbury within St. Stephen's House, 16 Aberdeen Rd., Highbury. Carols by Candlelight, and Prayers for Peace. All welcome. G. P. T. Paget King, Priest-in-charge.

Sunday, January 2

LONDON, W.1. 3.30 p.m.: King's Weigh House Church, Binney St. (nr. Bond St. St.). Pacifist Universalist Service. Discourse by Rev. Claud Colman. PPU Religion Commission.

### Every week!

#### SUNDAYS

HYDE PARK: 3 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

#### TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtgs. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

#### WEDNESDAYS

NOTTINGHAM: 1.15 p.m.; Open-air mtgs. Old Market Sq. Rev. Donald Pipe and others. FoR. PPU.

#### THURSDAYS

LONDON, W.C.1. 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.

## Nationalism and Democracy

I AM getting very tired of the half-baked poppycock which is appearing on the subject of nationalism.

John Nibb (PN Dec. 24) talks of "the waging record of democratic governments" as though that somehow disposed of the connection between democracy and peace. If anyone looks into the causes of wars between "democracies" he will find that one party, if not both, had imperialist ambitions or an actual empire to "defend". No two democratic states could fight if the people of each believed, not only in their own democratic rights, but in the democratic right of people beyond their frontiers.

We say that it takes two to make a quarrel. One may add that at least one of the two must be aggressive. But aggression=imperialism=the denial of the democratic rights of other people. Hence the cause of war is not in the existence of self-determination and democracy but in the persistent denial of these rights by one nation or group in their dealings with another. We, in Britain, have talked democracy for over a hundred years; but our practice has been to deny democratic rights to the victims of our very undemocratic imperialism as long as we were able to do so. Hence the conquest of India alone involved us in an almost continual succession of wars which took place not because we were (superficially) democratic but because our democratic phrases were cant and humbug. Like John Nibb, our Empire Builders always piously deplored nationalism and—when it did not suit their purposes—the claims of democracy.

To anyone aware of the acute social, economic political and psychological problems of the colonial world almost the whole of this discussion must appear abstract, unrelated to facts, and unrealistic. In most parts of Africa, for example, large numbers of Africans are living under the rule of Europeans, though Europeans form a minority of the population, rising *at its highest* to about one-fifth in the South African Union. I need not here, surely, explain the many and various disabilities from which Africans suffer. It is simply a fact that they object increasingly; and the only real problem, for me, is whether we can help the various liberation movements to develop along pacifist lines. That they will take, in initial stages, a nationalist form, appears inevitable; that is the pattern imposed by imperialism. If you oppress a race, a nation, or a class, it is as race, nation or class that it reacts—without first consulting John Nibb.

Gandhi—a nationalist who was also an internationalist—was one of the few men of international who applied pacifism to such problems. The fact that India has not consistently followed his lead since does not invalidate his method. What would the prim little critics of nationalism have done in Gandhi's place? What have they to say *today* to those who have no political rights and suffer economic and social oppression because their skins happen to be black, or brown, or merely—as in the case of Cyprus—because imperialism (masquerading as "democracy") finds it convenient to occupy their country.

Maybe John Nibb is a better man than Gandhi. Maybe he can tell us just what he has to say to the oppressed and the oppressors. Maybe he can also show us how his policy (if he has one) could be made effective—what moral and social forces can be marshalled and how and under what aegis he proposes to marshall them. I can understand the man who says the answer is socialism or anarchism, though I myself would say that nationalism will and must come first. But people who merely deplore nationalism, while living in a world which is so organised as to foment it, might as well spend their time denouncing earthquakes, or preaching at an avalanche, unless they can produce an alternative method of righting wrongs.

War is often advocated as the only answer to oppression, or the threat of it. Oppression (in the form of universal fascism, for example) could be advocated as an answer to war. As a pacifist I can't work for freedom by the first method or peace by the second. I want a world free from both war and oppression, with which any sincere pacifist must surely agree. Nationalism, even *at its worst*, is only a symptom of social disease; but the odd thing is that those who bleat loudly about the

Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning. Include: Date, Town, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers; organiser (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

NOTTINGHAM: 7.15 p.m.; Co-op Hall, St. George Craddock, MP and Victor Yates, MP. "Labour for Peace." Chair: Clr. John Kenyon, JP. Labour Peace Fellowship.

Wednesday, January 5

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Rev. Patrick Figgis. Non-violence Commission. PPU.

Thursday, Jan. 6

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Miss Sinclair. "The Whole Life." PPU.

Friday, January 7

EWELL: 8 p.m.; Glyn Hall, Frank Dawry. "Crime and Punishment." PPU.

GLASGOW: 7.45 p.m.; Community Ho., Clyde St., 1. Group mtg. PPU.

Saturday, January 8

LONDON, W.C.1: 3-5 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Business and discussion. Visitors welcome PPU Religion Commission.

Sunday, January 16

LONDON, W.1: 3.30 p.m.; King's Weigh House Church, Binney St. (nr. Bond St. St.). Sufi Service. Discourse by Miss L. Hayat Bouman PPU Religion Commission.

Wednesday, January 19

BELFAST: 8 p.m.; Friends Inst., Frederick St. R. Martin Gibson, MA, PhD, "The Place of Science in Society." FoR.

## LETTERS

symptoms are rarely found tackling the disease at its roots—in man's inhumanity to man.

REGINALD REYNOLDS

20 Jubilee Place, S.W.3

JOHN NIBB is an engagingly provocative person but he does tie himself up in knots.

He suggests that there should be no bias against democracy; there should apparently equally be no bias against autocracy or oligarchy.

He is however opposed to the mischievous idea that democratic states have some peculiar affinity with peace and liberty; which merely means that he perceives the obvious truth that if men are free to choose their own course of action they may choose to act badly.

Autocrats and oligarchs, however, are equally capable of making a wrong choice and of being motivated by egoism rather than by the public weal.

John Nibb presents as his clinching argument: If Moscow determined on unilateral disarmament should I be opposed to it if such a course were not approved by the majority of the Russian people? Well, I should like a little more information from John Nibb. If Moscow were to disarm in the face of the opposition of the Russian people, how does he hold that the Russian Government should deal with the resistance that would inevitably arise? Surely not by means of the arms that are to be abandoned?

The democrat does not have to regard democracy as the remedy for all social ills. He holds that it is the only form of government that does not demand of the many a surrender of their full dignity as responsible human beings: and it is surely obvious that any system of society that is not founded on democratic consent can only be founded on the force that the pacifist has renounced.

JOHN JEREMY

13 Church Terrace,

London, S.E.13

THE fact that "nationalism exists" should not lead Mr. Moorhouse (Dec. 10) to the conclusion that it is ineradicable; various evils existing in one period have been subsequently eliminated. Actually nationalism is an educational product so far as 90 per cent of mankind are concerned and there is no species of culture that cannot be acquired without it. While Welshmen may indeed make a "worthy contribution" to cultural life, "the Welsh nation" can no more do so than any other fictional national personality. "Home Rule" is an ambiguous term, and may indicate a nationalist agitation or may mean merely a demand for local government.

MR. HUWS refers to a "family of nations"; this is an invalid supposition, as the essence of family life is *personal* contact and relationship; further, if members of a family disagree, one is not held responsible for the actions of another (except under the debased system introduced in Russia after the Bolshevik revolution and limited elsewhere).

JOHN NIBB.

### Pacifists and Communists

MY friend Kenneth Rawlings has surely missed the point which both John Swomley and Tom Wardle were trying to make, and indeed he goes a long way in destroying his own argument when he states, quite truly, "that the Western rulers are not pacifists either, and that they too want peace only on their own terms". That is why pacifists do not co-operate with them either.

It is unfortunately possible for the universal desire for peace to be exploited for political purposes. That is why it is necessary to maintain that all who claim to be working for peace are not necessarily seeking the same end, nor using the right means. Kenneth Rawlings would be among the first to insist that means shape ends, as the end must determine the means.

It is misreading the purposes of John Swomley and Tom Wardle to impute to them a judgment on those who support Communist inspired peace propaganda. In any case, because we believe that the only logical and constructive answer to war and violence lies in pacifism, it is the task of the pacifist to advocate that and nothing less, regardless of whether something less would have a better chance of winning more widespread support. Nor should the pacifist allow the fundamental issue to be confused by giving the appearance that he is co-operating with those whose aims, if successful, might very well fail to establish peace as we understand it.

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If others think otherwise, let them follow what seems to them to be the best way, but do not let them criticise pacifists for a decision that there can be no basis for co-operation with those whose ends are not necessarily the same as ours, and whose means are certainly different.

STUART MORRIS

6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

THE choice facing pacifists appears to be either to work for peace by every possible means, including co-operation with all others who want peace so far as such co-operation is possible, or else to become an ineffective little mutual admiration society. Tom Wardle—for whom personally I have a great respect—advocates a policy which would in effect reduce itself to the second course; Peace News apparently agrees with him.

Fortunately most Peace Pledge Union members known to me entirely disagree. Do we want to start a "cold war" between pacifists and the rest of the peace movement, which—whether we like it or not—is a much bigger and more effective organisation than our own? Would it not be better to realise that they are "fellow-travellers" of our movement, and work with them, trying at the same time to convert them to the realisation that pacifism is the logical end of any desire for peace?

Rev. GEOFFREY P. T. PAGET KING.

16 Aberdeen Road, N.5

### Bertrand Russell's appeal

I LISTENED to Bertrand Russell's broadcast talk on the H-bomb (Dec. 23), and to his appeal to the "neutral" countries to propose to the Great Powers the banning of war.

But on whose ears did this appeal fall? On those of a few million Britons who would, in a few hours' time, be more interested in their annual "Goodwill feast" than in the survival of Mankind.

It is up to the pacifists and their sympathisers to take the lead from Bertrand Russell, now, and act. Since the peace movement has adherents in every country throughout the world, could it not mobilise its forces in order to bring about a conference of Neutral Countries and draw up plans for total disarmament?

This then, is a call to action to all pacifists, to act now, as only they can. Let the pacifists of the world give Bertrand Russell's appeal the impetus it rightly deserves.

M. S. COLLINS

20 Bride Lane, E.C.4

# C.D. and the H-bomb

## Home Office reply to questions 'untrue' and 'incredibly stupid'

Last week, on this page, we printed the answers given by the Home Office, through the Town Clerk of Hornsey, London, to five questions on Civil Defence put by the Women of Hornsey Peace Group.

Professor Kathleen Lonsdale, FRS, who originally raised the question in a Peace News article on June 11, now comments on the official answers in the following letter to the Editor of Peace News.

### TO THE EDITOR

I HOPE that the women of Hornsey will not accept the answers given by the Home Office, through the Town Clerk, to their questions on Civil Defence.

The first answer—that corpses are not radioactive after an H-bomb attack—is untrue.

Many tons of fish landed in Japan after the Pacific test were radioactive and there is no difference between fish and flesh in this respect.

This answer should be challenged.

The second answer—that an area in which millions of corpses remained unburied would be inaccessible and that therefore disease could not spread from it—is incredibly stupid. Such an area would have no definite boundary. Rats, bluebottles and other disease-carriers would not find it inaccessible. This also should be challenged.

(The third question was related to the second—Ed PN).

The fourth answer with reference to the maintenance of food supplies and transport of refugees is no answer at all.

The fifth, which negatives the building of bomb-proof shelters and questions "whether . . . any worthwhile plans can be made" is the only realistic answer of the lot.

As a commentary on the last two answers may I draw attention to an article "Civil Defence faces New Peril" in the Nov. 1954 issue of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists. In a factual and authoritative way the writer, Dr. R. A. Lapp, shows that:

"The explosion of 50 super-bombs could blanket the entire N.E. USA in a serious to lethal radio-active fog" and goes on to

### Schoolboys Exhibition

#### \* From page one

"What is this but asking boys to consider their future careers?"

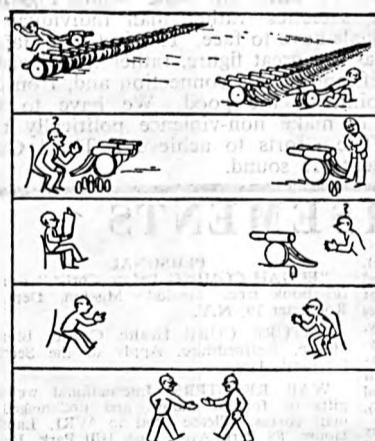
As reported in Peace News last week, the Peace Pledge Union, with the co-operation of the Friends Work Camps Committee (Quakers) had hoped to display some of "The Adventures of Peace," showing the work done by conscientious objectors to combat famine, flood and earthquake overseas, and by young people in work camp projects in this country.

Today, and every day that the exhibition is open, booklets will be given away outside the exhibition to schoolboys, inviting them to get in touch with the Peace Pledge Union and its Pacifist Youth Action Group.

In addition to cartoons and pictures, the booklet tells boys:

"You are the men of the future. Do you want to go backwards and be like the men of the past? The pictures show you the past, the present, and what the future may be if there is another war (The famous Vicky cartoon "Need it be like this" follows).

The men of the future—and you are one of them—will have to think of ways that will prevent wars altogether, and means of settling



This well-known Quaker poster is reproduced in the new PPU booklet.

quarrels by talking with each other instead of killing each other.

We wanted to have a stand in the Exhibition in order to show you some of the adventures of peace, and a number of interesting and exciting ways of serving your country, but were not permitted to do so, because you were thought to be too young to worry yet about the future.

We don't want you to worry, only to know about some of these ways, so if you would like to hear about them, will you get in touch with the General Secretary, the Peace Pledge Union, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, WC1.

Members of the Peace Pledge Union are pledged to 'renounce war and never support or sanction another.' Unless you are eighteen you are too young to become a member, but there is a special group for young people, which meets every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. at Dick Sheppard House."

# 'OUR HOLY WAR'

The idea of war calls forth visions of activity; the idea of peace calls forth visions of quietude. But passive drifting leads to war, while peace can only be preserved by constant work which re-creates it every day. This effort is truly worthy of man and compares favourably with the exhilarating effects attributed to war by bellicose writers writing under the lee of peace . . . This then must be our Holy War—the war against war.

—Don Salvador de Madariaga. "The Price of Peace."

THERE are very few people, I daresay,

who have not at some time in their lives felt the fascination of commencing to write in a new note-book, or cash book, or on an ordinary writing block. Those who keep diaries and journals take pleasure in the pure freshness of the new

pages, and unthumbed leaves at the beginning of the year.

It is, perhaps, this feeling about "new leaves" which causes people to celebrate the New Year, to make good resolutions, (who ever heard of making bad ones?) and to have in their hearts some sense of a new start every time a first day of January comes round again.

Yet, how quickly the neat writing gives way to a hurried scrawl, and how soon the beautiful crisp pages becomes creased and soiled. When this has happened there is no longer the same pleasure, nor quite the same urge.

And it is often at this point that the work in progress is discarded; the diary writer decides that after all the diary isn't really necessary, the housewife argues that keeping accounts doesn't really help with shopping, the letter writer finds a postcard will, after all, meet the case.

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It is, perhaps, a little like this in the work for peace. When Dick Sheppard first proposed the pledge of the PPU there were, within a few months, one hundred thousand members.

When first the PPU became an organised movement there were 600 Groups all over the country, and enthusiastic members who would give up anything rather than miss their weekly meeting.

Those were the days of the fresh clean leaves, of the new start, of the confident belief that all the pages would remain clean, and the writing clearly defined and neat.

Now, perhaps, the leaves are a little dog-eared, and the eager confidence of the new start a little dimmed from its original brightness.

And this is not because the war against war has been won, but, on the contrary because, as it meets with one staggering defeat after another, doubts grow, and confidence and courage fades and recedes.

Instead of bracing people to further efforts, as such set backs undoubtedly would in war; in the work for peace it seems to have the depressing effect of a wet blanket which does not cause fear, but merely depression.

There are many ways of fighting the war against war, and though these ways have been tried and have not yet secured victory, that does not make them bad ways, or futile ways, or wrong ways.

What is needed is that the chosen way, whether it be by the written word, by public speaking, by poster parades or selling Peace News, by prayer or by example, should be followed unremittingly. As in war, there is little respite from the battle, and no time at all for despondency or despair.

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Those politicians and statesmen who pin their faith to-day on bigger and better weapons, on wider and stronger military alliances, on threats and menaces and bribes, are, in spite of all their fine phrases and academic arguments about "prevention" and "deterrents", fighting a losing campaign against war.

The knowledge that Russia has hydrogen bombs, atomic rockets and millions of men under arms does not deter the Western Powers from manufacturing their own bombs and rockets and conscripting more and more men into the forces.

In fact it is perfectly plain that this particular page in the manual of strategy for peace, is so isolated and dog-eared that it is more than time it was torn out and thrown away.

And it is because "the common man" is at last coming to see and believe that this may, after all, be the real and only way to peace, that the pacifist must not falter now.

Peace, and all that it will mean to this torn and tragic war-ridden world, must be re-created each and every day. Let this be the writing on the new page of 1955.

### Why no colour-bar in S. America?

UNDER the title "Latin America, a continent on the march," the Council for Education in World Citizenship are this week conducting their twelfth Christmas Holiday lectures and discussions for senior school children at Central Hall, Westminster.

The opening address was given by Dr. Gilbert Murray, OM.

Outlining the historical past of the continent, Professor R. A. Humphreys, Professor of Latin-American History at London University described how the present day inhabitants, descendants of Aztec, Inca, Indian and Chibca stock are now multi-raced, being divided into five categories, viz. whites, mestizos (European and Black), pure Indian, mulatto (white and black), and Zambo (Indian and black).

Later, during question time, a London schoolgirl asked, "Why is it that no colour bar has existed in Latin America?"

In his answer, Professor Humphreys said that racial hostility was something which was acquired, and in Latin America it had not been acquired. During the centuries the people had married newcomers to their land—the Spanish and Portuguese; British, German and Italian. African slave labour had introduced the African into Latin American life. The population is mainly Spanish, and it must be remembered that many Spaniards are of Moorish origin, which is in itself a coloured strain.

The conference ends on Friday with a Brains Trust, in which Andrew Boyd (Assistant Editor of The Economist), Viscountess Davidson, MP (Con. Hemel Hempstead), Dr. M. Follick, MP (Lab. Loughborough) and Mr. H. Livermore (Educational Director, Canning House) will take part. The Question Master will be the Head of the Latin-American Service of the BBC, Mr. W. O. Galbraith.

MR. W. R. ROBINS, chairman of the Wiltshire County Council Finance Committee, presiding at a "No German Rearmament" meeting at Swindon said he welcomed the opportunity to associate himself publicly with the six Labour MPs who voted against German rearmament.

### ON CATHOLIC PRINCIPLES PAX OPPOSES WAR AND CONSCRIPTION

How great and irreparable is the damage inflicted on the morals and the character of the nations in this school of hatred and misery which is called "War."

—CARDINAL OTTAVIANI.

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The Secretary, Pax, 29 Great James St.  
London, W.C.1

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